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mentioned Tem-Ašur, who is probably to be identified with the eponym of the year 717 B. C.; Tâb-çil-Eshara, governor of the city of Asshur, who filled the office of eponym in 714; Ashur-rêçu'a who, under Sargon, held a military command on the northern frontier of Assyria, and is mentioned in the correspondence of Sennacherib; Arad-Nabû, a priestly official contemporary with Esarhaddon; and Bel-ibnî, governor of the Gulf District in 650, who played an important part in the Elamite wars of Ashurbanipal. It should be noted, by the way, that Nos. 460 (K. 1250) and 462 (K. 1374), although the writer's name is broken away in both instances, were certainly written by Bel-ibnî. The subject matter, the general style, and several marked peculiarities of expression leave no room for doubt as to their authorship. No. 469 (48-11-4, 282), although badly mutilated, is especially interesting. It contains an appeal to the King from the people of Erech who state that a dispute about some houses, gardens, and other property had been decided in their favor by "thy father Ashurbanipal" (obv. 12-13; rev. 1). The King addressed must, therefore, have been either Ashur-etil-ilâni or Sin-shar-ishkun (the Saracus of Abydenus), and the letter affords new evidence of the fact that the rule of Assyria was maintained in Babylonia for some time after the death of Ashurbanipal.

Very few textual errors have escaped the editor's watchful care. In No. 521, rev. l. 21, *ar* (*ar-ra-ti*) should be read instead of *bi*, and, in No. 469, rev. l. 2, the context shows that the first character must be *di* (*di-i-nu*) not *ki*. Both errors are trivial and the present writer has discovered no others. In the preface, Prof. Harper states that Part VI will probably be ready within the present year, and it is to be hoped that this expectation may be realized. The appearance of a new volume of the *Letters* is ever a welcome event.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

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Textes et Monuments Figurés Relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra,  
publiés avec une Introduction Critique par Franz Cumont,  
Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Bruxelles, H. Lamertin.  
Two Volumes, 4°: Volume II, Textes et Monuments, 1896,  
pp. viii, 554; Volume I, Introduction, 1899, pp. xxviii, 377.

When a certain scholar of international reputation, during a recent Winckelmannsfest at the German Archaeological Institute at Rome, pictured as the ideal of scholarship that in which there should be a union of the untiring industry and patience of the Teuton and the brilliant intuition of the Latin, he gave utterance to a sentiment which is common among scholars of the Latin nations, who, while they admire and imitate German scholarship,

find in it a certain heaviness and a tendency to rest content with the bare collection and presentation of material. After an examination of M. Cumont's two beautiful volumes on Texts and Monuments Relative to the Mysteries of Mithras, we cannot but think that their author, if indeed he has not fully realized this ideal, has at least more nearly approached it than any scholar who has yet written on a like subject. His geographical position typifies his scholarship: living on ground common to Teuton and Latin, and *doctus sermones utriusque linguae*, he exhibits in the highest degree the characteristics of both German and French scholarship.

An examination of M. Cumont's work properly begins with the second volume, which was first issued, and contains the texts and monuments which constitute the sources of our knowledge of the cult of Mithras. The contents are presented under three heads—*Textes Littéraires*, *Textes Épigraphiques*, and *Monuments Figurés*. Under *Textes Littéraires*, the author gives oriental, Greek, and Latin literary sources, arranged according to the alphabetical order of their authors' names. Greek and Latin sources are grouped together under one head. Under oriental sources, only Armenian texts are given, and those in translation. To have transcribed all the texts which form his oriental sources would have necessitated the presentation, not only of a great part of the Avesta, but of the Pahlavi writings, and would have drawn the author into a task which he prefers to leave to those whose knowledge of the oriental languages will permit them to do justice to it. He therefore limits himself to the transcription of a translation of the Armenian texts, and refers the reader by foot-notes to the Avesta and other oriental sources. Concluding the literary texts is a collection of *Textes Douteux*, passages which seem to contain allusions to Mithras, but are not beyond doubt. Following is an appendix containing *Noms Théophores* to the number of one hundred and six, classified according to territory.

Under *Textes Épigraphiques* are arranged in two divisions oriental, and Greek and Latin inscriptions. Three inscriptions in Persian constitute the oriental epigraphic sources, while there are five hundred and forty-seven in Greek and Latin. These are classified according to provincial distribution in Asia, Europe, and Africa. The number of Greek inscriptions is exceedingly small. Thirty-six *Inscriptions Douteuses*, five *Inscriptions Faus-ses*, with a concordance for use as a guide to *C. I. L.*, *C. I. G.*, etc., follow.

The third part of Volume II—*Monuments Figurés*—is a catalogue of all the known Mithraic monuments. Temples, grottoes, coins, amulets, paintings, statues, reliefs, altars, and all other objects having to do with the worship, are classified in the same manner as the inscriptions, are minutely described, and abundantly illustrated by four hundred and ninety-three cuts, and nine plates in heliotype. This is the most valuable and important part

of the volume. Following are *Monuments Douteux, Falsifications Modernes*, an appendix treating *Pierres Gravées et Amulettes*, and an extensive supplement repeating the classification of the whole of the preceding part of the volume. An exhaustive index concludes the whole.

We turn now from the sources to M. Cumont's critique on them in Volume I. Besides the preface, table of contents, and bibliography, there are two main parts to this volume—*Critique des Documents*, and *Conclusions*. After chapters on *Les Livres Iraniens, Textes Syriacques et Arméniens, Textes Grecs et Latins*, and *Les Inscriptions*, M. Cumont proceeds to discuss at length the principal source of information regarding Mithracism—*Les Monuments*. This part of the work occupies the whole of Chapter V, and is divided into sixteen sections, whose content may be judged by the following brief outline. Naturally, by far the greater part of the chapter is given to the consideration of the typical Mithraic relief which invariably represents the bull and its slayer, the scorpion, the serpent and the dog, and which very frequently represents, in addition to this group, many other symbolic objects—the raven, the Sun-god, the fig-tree, the lion, the ewer, the dadophoroi—and in rarer instances is enclosed in a frame of figures and scenes in relief—the signs of the zodiac, the Moon-goddess, Mithras and the Sun-god, Mithras in pursuit of the bull, etc., etc. I. The Mithraeum, its parts and their appointments. II. Mithracism essentially Persian, though modified by Chaldean influence. III. The lion-headed figure identified as the Mithraic Kronos, the Persian god of Infinite Time. IV. The god of Infinite Time and his relation to the god of the Heavens, Zeus, Jupiter, and Atlas. V. Representations of the Seasons and the Winds. The group of the lion, ewer, and serpent symbolical of Fire, Water, and Earth. VI. The Signs of the Zodiac and the Planets. Modification of the religion of ancient Iran by Chaldean astrology. VII. The Sun and the Moon. VIII. The Persian pantheon. Catalogue of Persian divinities whose names appear in Greek, Armenian, and Syriac sources. IX. The Persian pantheon on the monuments. Its identification with the Hellenic pantheon. X, XI. The series of small scenes surrounding the group of the tauroktonos on certain of the larger monuments. These scenes are the illustrations of some lost religious poem, and are generally arranged approximately as they are found on the monument of Osterburken (no. 246). With this monument as a basis, after changing the order slightly and supplying from other monuments, the scenes fall into two groups: illustrations of the legend of the generation of the gods and the origin of the world, and illustrations of the legend of Mithras. In the first group are: Infinite Time; Tellus and Atlas bearing the globe, representing the union of Earth and Heavens, Juno and Jupiter; Oceanus; the Moirai; Infinite Time presenting his successor, Ahura-Mazda, with the thunderbolt, the symbol of authority; Ahura-Mazda

contending with a giant of evil—the Persian gigantomachy. The second group includes: the birth of Mithras; Mithras, nude, cutting fruit and leaves from a fig-tree, in which is the bust of a god, and before which one of the winds blows on Mithras; Mithras discharging an arrow against a rock and creating a fountain before which a figure kneels to catch the water in his palms; the bull in a small boat, and near by the sacred animal a second time, under a roof to which (no. 273 *ter* Suppl.) two figures are about to set fire—allusions, perhaps to a flood and a conflagration; other episodes in the legend of the bull—his flight, the pursuit by Mithras, who finally bears him away on his shoulder. The conclusion of this series is of course the large central figure of the slaying of the bull. The remaining small scenes depict Helios kneeling before Mithras; Mithras and Helios clasping hands over an altar; Mithras with drawn bow on a galloping horse; Mithras and Helios banqueting; Mithras and Helios mounting the chariot of the latter, which rises in full course above the ocean. XII. The central relief, the concluding scene in the legend of the bull. Mithras slays the sacred animal as a sacrifice to bring about terrestrial life. XIII. The scorpion, attacking the genitals of the bull, is sent by Ahriman from the lower world to defeat the purpose of the sacrifice; the dog, springing toward the wound in the bull's side, was venerated by the Persians, and was the companion of Mithras; the serpent is the symbol of the earth being made fecund by drinking the blood of the sacrificed bull; the raven, toward which Mithras turns his face as if for direction, is the herald of the Sun-god, whose bust is near by, and who has ordered the sacrifice; various plants near the bull, and heads of wheat springing from his tail, symbolize the result of the sacrifice; the cypress is perhaps the tree of immortality. XIV. The Mithraic reliefs in their astrological aspect. Astrological interpretations had only a secondary importance, and were superficial. XV. The dadophoroi with Mithras represent one being in three aspects—the morning, noon, and evening sun, or the vernal, summer, and autumnal sun. XVI. The importance of Mithraic representations in the history of Roman art.

M. Cumont's comprehensive grasp of all subjects having to do with his field of investigation and the boldness and at the same time reasonableness of his combinations make his studies of the monuments fascinating. The second half of Volume I, however, will surpass the first in interest for the ordinary reader. In it the author gives the results of all his investigation, and it is to this part—the *Conclusions*—that the reader is to go for his orientation. They are divided into six chapters, of whose contents we give the following brief abstract.

I. *Les Origines*. Mithras was worshiped even before the separation of the Persian and Hindu stocks, both the Vedas and the Avesta representing him as the divinity of light, protector of truth, and antagonist of falsehood and error. In the Avesta, as

god of the light, he is ever watchful and all-seeing, and thus signifies the god of truth and loyalty. Light is accompanied by heat, and he becomes the god of vegetation and all increase. He is the enemy of darkness, and of all evil spirits, and the champion of heroes. But the Mithras of the Vedas, though less clear, is greater than the Mithras of the Avesta. At the rise of Zoroastrianism, he becomes one of the *yazatas*, created by Ahura-Mazda, and subject to him in the work of destroying demons and administering the world. Ahura-Mazda reigns in eternal brightness, Ahriman in eternal darkness, and Mithras occupies an intermediate position. He is the greatest of the *yazatas*, protects souls, accompanies them to paradise, and is thus a redeemer. But Semitic star-worship identified Ahura-Mazda with Bel, god of the Heavens, and Mithras with Shamash, god of the Sun. The influence of the indigenous religion of Armenia was strong. The modified Iranian religion became the religion of the Diadochoi, who wished to keep up the traditions of their Persian ancestors. Greek civilization in turn exerted a strong influence. Mithras was associated with Helios, and other members of the Persian pantheon were identified or associated with the Olympic deities. Greek art at Pergamum, about the second century B. C., reduced the Mithraic legend to concrete form in the typical relief, and thus aided to equip the cult for success in the western world, to which it was transmitted during the piratical disturbances of the first century B. C. The essential features of the old Iranian religion continued to be the same throughout its existence in the Occident, although the ritual changed from Persian to Greek, and from Greek to Latin.

II. *La Propagation dans l'Empire Romain.* With the exception of the port Peiraeus, Mithracism had not gained a footing in the Hellenic world even as late as during the Alexandrine period, and its existence even under the Empire was only sporadic, and confined to seaport towns, Memphis being the only exception known thus far. At Rome the Great Mother, Astarte, Bellona, and Dea Syria were all well known before the advent of Mithras, whose worship was first brought there by Pompey's captive Cilician pirates. It was not until toward the close of the first century A. D., however, that the cult began to claim attention. Statius had seen the typical Mithraic relief, and the first known dedicatory inscription was set up by a freedman of the Flavians. The cult existed in Germany in 148, and after the reign of Commodus proofs of its presence in all the provinces multiply. At the end of the second century there were at least four sanctuaries at Ostia. The army, consisting in large part of Asiatics, and quartered for long periods of time in the same frontier cities or regions, was the principal agent of distribution of the cult, the character of Mithras as the god of victory explaining in great part his popularity with the soldier. Mithraic monuments abound on the line of the ancient frontier—the Danube, the Rhine,

Britain, the line of the Sahara. In the more peaceful districts, the most active propagandists were the merchant class, a great part of whom were from the far East. In connection with these are to be considered the slaves, whose numbers may be estimated by the statement of Josephus that in his Judæan campaign alone Titus made 97,000 slaves. The incessant wars with the Parthians and neighboring nations kept Rome full of slaves of the Mithraic faith. Sold to western masters, they were distributed throughout the European and African provinces. Especially that part of them who were employed by the State in positions of trust, or who became freedmen and composed a large part of the machine of administration in the provinces, were of great importance in the spread of the cult. Finally, there was no doubt the usual missionary activity. Rome, where all these forces were present in abundance, naturally became a stronghold of the cult. Though its worshipers were for many years from the humblest classes, its rise was rapid, and at the close of the second century it had become a favorite with the aristocracy and the court; literature and philosophy began to take note of the dogmas and rites of the cult, and its doctrines and practices were held up in opposition to Christianity, the only dangerous rival it possessed.

III. *Mithra et le Pouvoir Impérial.* Owing to the relative lateness of its appearance at Rome, the cult of Mithras found the Emperors at least tolerant, if not favorable. Its growth in favor was such that by the close of the second century it received the active support of the reigning house. Commodus himself was initiated. The ground of this favor with the Emperors, which continued up to the fall of Paganism, is to be sought in the convenient support which the religion of Mithras afforded the principle of the divine right of monarchs which had been growing up at Rome under the influence of Eastern conditions. The Persian monarch was not considered as a god, like the Egyptian monarch. The Persian conception of the source of authority of the monarch was unique. He reigned by the grace of Ahura-Mazda, creator of Heaven and Earth, and this grace was manifested by a sort of supernatural fire, a celestial aureole, which illumined the legitimate sovereign, and was called the Hvarenô. This conception, influenced first by the idea that the crown was bestowed by Fate, and second by the Chaldean idea that destiny and the heavenly bodies were in intimate connection, resulted in the doctrine that the sun, the royal planet par excellence, *Sol Invictus*, was the dispenser of the Hvarenô. Mithras, identified with *Sol Invictus*, thus became the giver of authority and victory, and was worshiped as such by the imperial house. The doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Emperor and Mithras, growing out of this was a second factor in raising the former to a plane above the human.

IV. *La Doctrine des Mystères.* Mithracism, in contradistinction to the old Graeco-Roman Paganism, possessed a real theology,

and a dogmatic system based on science. To give more than a rough outline of its doctrines, however, is impossible because of the insufficiency of documents. Mithras was not the only Persian god worshiped at Rome, nor was he the supreme member of the Persian pantheon there, although he was the most prominent. Infinite Time—Kronos, Saturn—was the head of the divine hierarchy; the Heavens and the Earth were his progeny, and they begat the Ocean, who formed with them a supreme triad equivalent to Jupiter, Juno, and Neptune. The Heavens and the Earth created the remaining members of a circle corresponding to the Olympic deities. Ahriman, begotten also by Infinite Time, was the Persian Pluto. The influence of the scientific theology of the Semitic race early resulted in the identification of the greater number of the Iranian divinities with the stars, and consequently in the Occident every Persian god possessed a double significance—astrological and natural, Semitic and Iranian. The cult at Rome preserved both these aspects, but the clergy reserved for the elect the deeper signification of the earlier Iranian theology, imparting to the multitude only the brilliant and easily understood symbolism of the Semitic theology. The planets, the constellations, and the signs of the zodiac found their place in the latter, and the conception of Fate as connected with them exercised a great influence over the public. Mithras, however, was by far the most important member of the pantheon, and his name was the center of a cycle of legends. From his character as god of Light, midway between the Heavens and the Earth, the centre of the choir of planets, he became known as the mediator between suffering humanity and the unknowable and inaccessible god of all being who reigned in the Ether. The Mithras legend has been lost, and can be reconstructed only from the scenes on the Mithraic reliefs (see pp. 445, 6 above). Mithras was born of a rock, the marvel being seen only by certain shepherds, who brought gifts and adored him. Chilled by the wind, the new-born god went to a fig-tree, partook of its fruit, and clothed himself in its leaves. He then undertook to vanquish the beings already in the world, and rendered subject to him first the Sun, with whom he concluded a treaty of friendship. The most astonishing of his adventures, however, was that with the sacred bull which had been created by Ahura-Mazda. The hero seized it by the horns and was borne headlong in the flight of the animal, which he finally subdued and dragged into a cavern. The bull escaped, but was overtaken, and by order of the Sun, who sent his messenger the raven, was sacrificed by Mithras, who performed the deed against his inclination. From the dying animal sprang the life of the earth, although Ahriman sent his emissaries to prevent it. The soul of the bull rose to the celestial spheres and became the guardian of herds and flocks under the name of Silvanus. Mithras, by his deed, was the creator of life. Meanwhile Ahriman sent a terrible



drought upon the land. Mithras defeated his purpose by discharging an arrow against a rock and thus miraculously drawing water from it. Next Ahriman sent a deluge, from which one man escaped in a boat with his cattle. Finally a fire desolated the earth, and only the creatures of Ahura-Mazda escaped. Mithras, his work accomplished, banqueted with the Sun for the last time, and was taken by him in his quadriga to the habitation of the immortals, whence he continued to protect the faithful. . . . Faithfulness involved striving for perfect purity, even by asceticism. Courage and watchfulness—in fact, the military virtues—were essential in the incessant combat between the forces of good and evil. Resistance to sensuality was one aspect of this struggle. Mithras was ever on the side of the faithful, who were certain to triumph in this world and the next. The worthy soul ascended to its former home in the skies by seven gates, or degrees, while the unworthy soul descended to the realms of Ahriman. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was accompanied by that of the resurrection of the flesh; the struggle between good and evil was one day to cease, and the divine bull was to appear on the earth, Mithras was to descend to call forth from their tombs all men and to separate the good from the bad. The bull was to be sacrificed by Mithras, who was to mingle its fat with consecrated wine and give to drink of it to the just, rendering them immortal, while the unjust, together with Ahriman and his spirits, were to be destroyed by a fire sent from heaven by Ahura-Mazda. The universe, renewed, was to enjoy eternal happiness. . . . The success of Mithracism was due to its morals, its promise of reward for good deeds in immortal life, its deification of all nature, its impressive rites, and its adaptability to both high and low classes of society.

V. *La Liturgie, le Clergé, et les Fidèles.* The liturgy of Mithracism has disappeared almost without leaving a trace. Jerome tells us that the mystic went through the seven degrees of *Corax*, *Cryphius*, *Miles*, *Leo*, *Perses*, *Heliodromus*, and *Pater*. The *Patres* became directors of the community, and their chief was called *Pater Patrum*. Members of the community were *Fratres*, and children could be admitted to the lower grades. Initiation was called *sacramentum*, an oath being exacted of the neophyte not to divulge what was revealed to him. Numerous ablutions were prescribed for the cleansing of his soul from the stains of sin, and he seems to have been branded on the forehead with a hot iron. After a considerable period of service he was privileged to participate in a ceremony comparable to the Communion of the Christians. Bread and water were administered, and the ceremony conferred not only mental and bodily vigor, but immortality. At the same time the mystic was subjected to strange trials in order to test his moral and physical courage. . . . Of the clergy little can be said. According to Tertullian, the high priest could marry only once, and there were *virgines et*

*continentes* as in the Christian Church. The ordinary priest was the intermediary between the faithful and their god, kept the sacred fire bright, administered the sacrament, celebrated the services, addressed prayers to the Sun thrice daily, and officiated in such special services as were added to the daily routine. Each day of the week, the appropriate planet was invoked at a certain place in the crypt, Sunday being especially sacred. The *Mithrakana*, famous in the East, were probably transferred to Dec. 25 in the Occident. . . . The Mithraic community was a corporate body as well as a religious association, having *decuriones*, *decemprimi*, *magistri*, *curatores*, *defensores*, and *patroni*. The cult was supported by voluntary contribution. From the size of the Mithraea, it seems certain that not more than one hundred members were enrolled in the territory of each sanctuary. The growth of a community to a number sufficiently exceeding that membership resulted in the formation of a new community. The sense of close fraternal relation, the attraction of titles and degrees, the constant hope of higher spiritual vision, the stimulation and consolation of the ceremonies, the sense of purification from sin by the ablutions and of the approach of a better life where the sufferings of this world were to be compensated, the veneration which was excited by the thought of the antiquity and the wisdom of this religion from the remote Orient—were some of the elements which caused the rapid multiplication of Mithracism in the West. One element of weakness, however, was the exclusion of women from the mysteries.

VI. *Mithra et les Religions de l'Empire*. Mithracism, on its arrival at Rome, was at its full maturity, if not beginning to decay. The only modifications it ever suffered were experienced in its youth in Asia. It was never essentially modified in the Occident. With the Egyptian religions it was at rivalry, if not at enmity. With Jupiter Dolichenus and the Great Mother it had close relations, its relations with the latter partaking of the nature of an alliance. As to the mutual influence of Mithracism and the other religions of Rome, the natural outcome of the long-continued attempt to recognize in all the gods of the Graeco-Roman system the forces of nature was the recognition of the Sun as the most important of all of them. Thus philosophy as well as politics placed Mithracism in the front rank. In the fourth century the followers of Mithras conceived the idea of uniting all divinities and all myths in a single new system. The struggle with Christianity was the more obstinate because of the resemblances between the two religions, which were so numerous and so complete as to be the subject of remark as early as the second century and were from that time on the cause of mutual recrimination. These resemblances, however, were in the main the result of common eastern origin. Only in art can it be definitely asserted that one borrowed from the other: Mithraic representations served as models which were often adopted or adapted by the Christians. The

beginning of the downfall of Mithracism dates from 275 A. D., when Dacia was lost to the Empire, and the invasions of the northern peoples resulted in the destruction of temples along a great stretch of frontier, the natural stronghold of the cult. The aggression of Christianity was also now more and more effective. However, the Emperors favored the cult which was the army's favorite until Constantine destroyed its hopes. The cult became tolerated instead of recognized. The reign of Julian and the usurpation of Eugenius renewed the hopes of its devotees, but the victory of Theodosius (394) may be considered the end of the cult's existence. It still survived in certain cantons of the Alps in the fifth century, and clung to life with more tenacity in its eastern home. Its legitimate successor was Manicheism, which offered a refuge to those mystics who had been shaken in faith but not converted by the polemics of the Church against their religion.

The strongest impression carried away from an examination of this work is that of the immense industry and thoroughness of the author. The reader feels that M. Cumont was dominated by a determination to put into his two volumes (*doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis*) absolutely nothing less than the whole thing. He tells us in his preface that he has spent more than ten years on the work, and only those who have engaged in work along similar lines realize how short a period even that is for a work of this magnitude, for the preparation of which a thorough familiarity with so many fields of knowledge is necessary. The only evidence which M. Cumont does not present is that which has not yet been brought to light by the spade of the excavator. Evidence of this kind will accumulate (indeed has already accumulated), but it is not likely to alter greatly the conclusions already drawn.

M. Cumont's thoroughness is equaled only by the brilliancy of his conclusions. In his interpretation of the monuments he has succeeded in many instances in reaching a plausible conclusion only by reason of his keen intuition. In his statement, in the preface, that his work is not a conclusion, but a prologue, and that its merit will consist in having formulated clearly many problems, he no doubt refers to those theories tentatively advanced by him which have not the weight of material evidence sufficient to satisfy the most conservative scholarship. One feels this to be true, not only in cases where the author avows that he does not consider his point proved, but in some cases where he feels more certain. But while the reconstruction of the Mithraic legend, for example (*Conclusions*, pp. 304-306), rests in some of its details upon very scant material evidence, M. Cumont's solutions of its problems in most instances bear conviction with them and are always plausible and brilliant, and the reader leaves the work with a feeling that its conclusions as a whole will remain unaltered as long as there is no radical difference in the sources from which they are drawn.

The most striking feature of M. Cumont's work is the parallelism which he shows to have existed between Mithracism and Christianity (*Conclusions*, pp. 339-343, and *Critique*, *passim*). The common oriental origin; the democracy, fraternity, and humility of the first communities; the identification of the object of adoration with Light and the Sun; the legends of the shepherds with their gifts and adoration, the flood, and the ark; the representation in art of the fiery chariot, the drawing of water from the rock, etc.; the presence in the ceremonial of bell and candle, holy water, and the communion; the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the flesh, the mediation of the Logos emanating from the Divine, the atoning sacrifice, the constant warfare between good and evil and the final triumph of the former—are some of the resemblances which he presents. They may be more apparent than real, but there is no escaping the conviction that they are as a whole grounded in a common eastern origin. M. Cumont, with just conservatism, does not presume to say that either religion borrowed from the other, except in the realm of art. The work is thus of great value to the student of Christian, as well as of classical antiquity.

But M. Cumont deserves above all the thanks of the student of history—especially of religious history. His work is one of those which are invaluable for establishing the point of view so much to be desired but so rarely possessed—of the history of religious development as a continuous whole, of the supplanting of worn-out Graeco-Roman religion by the more fervent, more moral, and higher eastern religions, and the yielding of these in turn to the still more perfect Oriental religion, Christianity. With all the multitudinous details of M. Cumont's work, with all the problems it raises, and with all the force with which it makes the reader see how much and yet how little we know, it leaves him with distinct impressions and the feeling that the sum total of knowledge has really been advanced not only in the details of fact but in the larger ideas which make for intelligent living.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

GRANT SHOWERMAN.

Der Hannibalweg neu untersucht und durch Zeichnungen und Tafeln erläutert von WILHELM OSIANDER, mit dreizehn Abbildungen und drei Karten. S. VIII-204. Berlin, 1900.

In reading Osiander's book one is impressed with the thoroughness with which he handles his subject. He has not only made an independent study of the original sources, but has made a careful study of the topography of the Alps, having himself travelled over all the various routes in question. The study of the books of the ancient historians has its value, but there is another book of equally great value, and that is the Book of